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dicate that they have recently taken part in a certain type of Maki rite, or that they have secretly carried out a certain act of sorcery against persons unknown—a cheap type of self-advertisement apt, however, to be imitated by those only wishing to gain a reputation for occult power; or an old man may by similar means demonstrate to an admiring world the fact that he has sacrificed more than one home-bred circle-tusker.[1]

Forms of greeting.

Before reaching the village the average native knows from footprints who has already returned, for each man's footprints are known. In the case of a woman, it is more than likely that he knows also, from the impress of her foot, what load she has been carrying.

Meeting an individual or a party on the path, there is little need to speculate whither they come, for the polite formula of greeting is, "Where have you come from?" or "Where are you going?" Nor, under ordinary circumstances, will the question be evaded, since not only is it the custom to tell, but it would also be futile to conceal, since so many indications, as well as the publicity under which all members of the community live, make checking up on any individual's whereabouts easy. Gossip, too, spreads quickly and surely, and only sorcerers and adulterers have real need to conceal their movements.

Fire-making.

Once home, the first concern is the cooking of the evening meal, the most important in the day, since breakfast consists usually of bits left over from the night before, and the midday meal is made of yams roasted over an open fire close to the gardens where they work. Each house has in it an earth-oven, a simple hole dug in the ground. In this a fire burns all night, for warmth and to keep off stray ghosts. It also serves to keep away mosquitoes. Strong eyes are needed to resist the pungent, ubiquitous smoke whose only exit is through the interstices of the rain-proof thatched roof.

Fires rarely go out, since embers are carefully preserved. When new fire is needed, however, either at home or always when abroad, it must be made by the "plough" method. A flat soft-wood board is placed on the ground, and the fire-maker keeps this in place by kneeling on the nearer end, while, with a hard-wood stick about eight inches long gripped in both hands, he rubs backwards and forwards with it till a groove is formed in the board. This movement begins comparatively slowly, till the soft wood-dust formed by the friction begins to gather at the further end of the groove. Then the movement becomes faster and faster, till the increased friction results in a minute smouldering spark igniting the

[1] Such tuskers are more valuable if bred at home than if acquired by trade (see p. 242).

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232 to this, and partly so as to provide companionship for the boars, certain male pigs are gelded. Gelded pigs also have their upper canines extracted, and so develop elongated tusks, but are never, so far as I know, kept alive beyond the stage at which the tusks approach the jaw but have not yet entered it. They are reared for two purposes, firstly as companions to the tusked boars, and partly so as to provide the fleshy part of sacrifice. Thus pigs are often sacrificed in pairs, one tusked boar and one gelded tusker. The boar only is the official victim; the gelded tusker is sacrificed at the same time in order to provide the meat.

Sows not sacrificed or eaten.

231 Though women sometimes own pigs, sows are never sacrificed and
262 therefore do not have their tusks artificially elongated; nor may they be eaten.[1] Men cannot eat sows because they are female, and women may not eat pig-flesh at all. For pig-flesh is only eaten as a result of sacrifice.

TERMINOLOGY; PIG GRADES; STAGES OF GROWTH

General Terms

231 The general word for "pig" is *bò*, or, when preceded by the indefinite
192 article, *na-mbò*. The same word is used more specifically for "boar" as opposed to gelded pig or sow.

Gelded pigs are called *tamav*.

Sows are called *bò-rav*.

Pigs reared from a sow belonging to the owner and not acquired by trade are called *netin na-mborav*, and are particularly prized for sacrifice. Such pigs when grown to sacrificial size I will call "home-bred tuskers."

Intersex pigs, described in Vao as having vagina and testicles but no penis, are called *na-rav*. These are not intentionally reared on Vao, but sometimes occur in the course of ordinary breeding.

Four Main Grades depending on Curvature of Tusks

Tusked boars are, for ritual purposes, graded into four main categories, according to the length and curvature of their tusks. As these categories are the same, with dialectical variations, all over the Small Islands, and as it is necessary to be able to refer to them in English in such a manner as not to burden the reader with too many native terms, I propose here

[1] Compare Godefroy, 1, 1934, p. 48: "The sow is despised to such an extent that it may not even be eaten; if it is necessary, for some reason or other, to get rid of a sow, it is thrown into the sea, unless the young men take it for bait to attract sharks, which they then kill."

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those female kinswomen of the dead man called *vene na woroan*,[1] who have married into other villages, and who at the news of death return to the home-village and spend a large part of their time in the Lodge with the mortuary officials. Thus, the two categories of women living in their own village by whom they may not be seen are (i) the unmarried girls, and (ii) all the wives of the male members of the village, though this latter category includes their own mothers, who keep them supplied with puddings.

A further restriction which applies only to the chief mortuary official is the prohibition against eating anything that has been touched by women (except his "mothers," who supply him with food), and a reciprocal prohibition against any woman eating anything that has been touched by him. The first thing he does on issuing from his seclusion is publicly to touch the yams which are to be distributed to the assembled guests, in order to demonstrate the removal of this restriction.

Duties of chief mortuary official.

The main duties of the chief mortuary official are:

(1) to prepare the body for burial;
(2) to place the morsel in the mouth of the dead man during the first feast of communion with him before burial;
(3) to conduct the subsequent communion rites held daily at sunrise and sunset until the Fourteenth Day after death;
(4) to blacken himself on the Fifth Day;
(5) to remain in seclusion till the ceremony of *Tulagh* or *Talogh*, when he is paid for his services.

Duties of assistant mortuary officials.

The main duties of the assistant mortuary officials are:

(1) to dig the grave;
(2) to deputise, if he so wishes, for the chief official at the twice-daily communion rites;
(3) to blacken themselves on the Fifth Day;
(4) to remain in seclusion till the Fourteenth Day;
(5) then to swim out into deep water with the canoe laden with provisions for the dead man.

Death and Burial

When a *mer-sean* dies, a taboo is placed on the fruit of such tree as is in season at that time. It is applicable to both men and women, and is not lifted till the morning of the first anniversary of his death.

[1] See pp. 433-4.

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is scarce, for it is necessary to be certain that every piece shall be eaten. If yams are plentiful, it might happen by oversight that, not being immediately cooked, one of the yams might be replanted and that the resulting new yams might at some later date be eaten by a woman. This would be a terrible thing to happen to yams in any way connected with the feast of communion with the dead.

Of the two days, the actual anniversary, *Simbean*, is the only one having true ritual importance. The second, *Rom van-van*, is "only for eating."

Taboo on fruit now lifted.

If any fruit (such as *naviho*) is in season at the time of the death of a *mer-sean* a taboo is placed on it, to be observed by both men and women, and is not lifted till the morning of the first anniversary, when it is cooked in the first of the puddings eaten in the Lodge.[1]

Special Sacrifice on Tenth Anniversary

According to Godefroy, anniversary communions continue until the tenth year after death, when a special sacrifice takes place. He gives, however, no further details.

MORTUARY RITES FOR A YOUNG MAN

The following notes on the death of a young man are very sketchy, and were taken down before I was aware of the age-grades stated above, and before obtaining the account of the mortuary rites for a *mer-sean*. Such comparisons as I have been able to make, therefore, have been made while writing it up, when it was too late to ask any of the many questions that present themselves.

Burial

When a young man dies his face is painted red [2] and he is wrapped in money-mats (*mangau*) and buried extended, at any time of day, in his own house, either at the Lower Side (*tosan atan*) or across the closed end of the house with his head to the Lower Side. Before he is lowered into the grave, a small live pig is thrown in. This pig is called *e tulo goni*,[3] "it accompanies him on his way." The dead man's body is then lowered into the grave, and immediately this has been done there takes place the sacrifice of a pig called *e mule ghini*, "he goes home," presumably the "death pig" sacrificed for presentation to the Guardian Ghost.

[1] Godefroy, 1, 1934, p. 52. [2] An old man's face is painted black. See p. 540.
[3] If the dead man is very young, this is omitted.

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(There is no launching of a canoe, as is the case for an old man. The whole evening and morning ceremony gives the impression of something to which the young man is not properly entitled, an imitation of the rites due to an old man, to which the younger has no right, but which is tolerated by the community so long as it is carried out *sub rosa* and no traces of it are thrust upon the public consciousness. Thus, the hut must be built by the side of the road instead of in the dancing-ground; the cane thrown on the grave evidently represents the circular fence made out of canes erected for an old man; the crying four times followed by weeping may be in imitation of the fourfold cries and weeping at the launching of the canoe; lastly, the whole of the pudding must, in the case of a young man, be finished or hidden before dawn.)

Period of Mourning

The period of mourning (*taurean*) lasts for thirty, forty or one hundred days, or a year or longer, according to choice, all the dead man's kinsmen, both male and female, having to fast or abstain (*vel-val*) during this time from eating certain yams.

(This presumably corresponds to the taboo on fruit in the case of an old man.)

End of Period of Fasting

When it is decided to put an end to this period of mourning, a day is appointed for a rite called *nagham hinagh*. The immediate relatives of the dead man lay out fowls, pigs, yams, bananas, etc., in the house-enclosure and give them to all those who have been abstaining.

Other Procedure Omitted

There are no mortuary officials (*talagh*) in the mortuary rites for a young man, nor is there any *Bur-tambean* or *Tulagh* rite nor any anniversary rite nor any communion feast such as takes place after the death of an old man.

WOMEN

Women's Age and Degree Names

Age-grades.

All women are called *Vavine*, and this term is used in reference and address for all those who have not yet received complimentary titles in connexion with the Maki.